1: Karsten--110-111 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 534, 787 (1928-29)

"The tunduí [JKM: signal drum] of the Jibaro Indians is not merely a signalling instrument in the ordinary sense of the word, but its greatest significance is religious: it is a means of communicating with the spiritual world. From this point of view I shall deal with this drum again in the chapters devoted to the religion of the Indians. Here I will only point out the interesting fact that the drum among other things is closely associated with the spirit (iguańchi) which appears in the shape of the great water boa or anaconda, and that the drum itself is supposed to be a representation of the great serpent. The very holes dug out of the drum, as I have said, form a snake-like figure and, moreover, the handles with which it is provided represent, respectively, the head and the tail of the dreaded reptile. Everybody who sees a real Jibaro drum in an ethnographic museum is able to note to what extent one of the handles is like a snake's head. [111]

I may add that these ideas are connected with the signalling drum among all Jibaro tribes and that the form of the drum is therefore everywhere the same. Of the drums in the museums of Gothenburg and Helsingfors, the one is from the Jibaros of the Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, and the other from the Aguarunas in

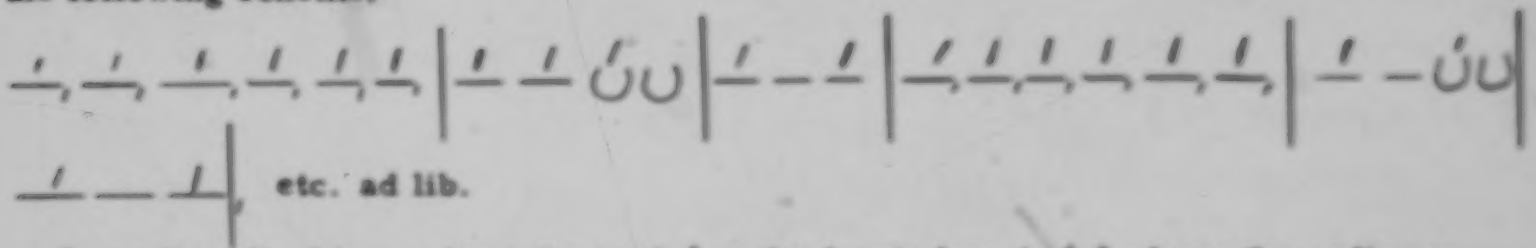
Peru, that is, they are from the northernmost and southernmost Jibaro tribes respectively; but still they are alike in all details. (1) "

"1. In Farabee's Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru, p.123, there is depicted a 'Jibaro Indian drum' which is without handles and with a sound-hole differing from that described by me above. I wish to point out, however, that this drum is not from the Jibaros, but probably from some of the Ucayali tribes. Since Farabee never visited the Jibaros his mistake is easy to understand."

1: Karsten-,-111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 533, 787 (1928-29)

"The drum is beaten with a club made of a heavy kind of wood. It is chiefly used on three occasions, and there are consequently three essentially different ways of 'signalling'.

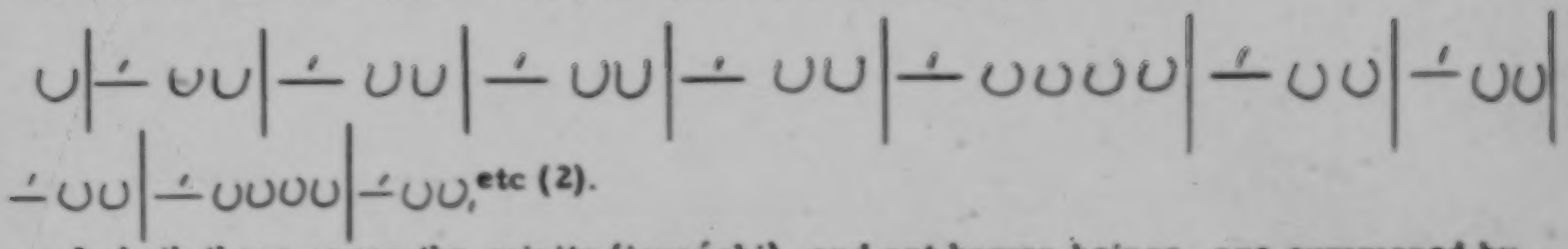
First, the tunduí is beaten at the feasts when the narcotics natema or maikoa are ceremonially consumed. In this case the drumming is in very slow time, according to the following scheme:



etc. ad lib.

Secondly, the Jibaros beat the tunduí at the feasts (nambeŕa) where the ordinary manioc-beer (nihamańchi) or the beer made of the fruit of the chontaruŕu palm is ceremonially consumed. It is done according to the following scheme, where the first

feeble and short stroke has the character of an anacrusis:



In both these cases the spirits (iguańchi), and not human beings, are summoned by means of the tunduí. But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two

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"2. —in regard to its quantity = ∪∪ ; ∪∪ = ∪ ; ´ means that the stroke is strongly accentuated."

events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"Just as the Jibaros take certain narcotic drinks when they are preparing for war, to see whether they will be lucky or not in the undertaking, so they also understand a kind of divination in regard to hunting. The drink then used is prepared of the guayusa, (Ilex sp.) the leaves of which are boiled in water for the purpose. The guayusa is not a real narcotic but a tonic, to which the Indians ascribe magical purifying effects. The Jibaros, however, seem to believe that the drink produces dreams of divinatory significance or, more strictly speaking, what they call 'small dreams', especially such as have reference to hunting.

When the Jibaro gets up in the morning, his first act is to place a small clay pot on the fire to prepare his guayusa (weisa), of which he then takes a small quantity, washing the mouth with the rest. If the liquid in the guayusa pot boils well so that the water whirls round rapidly, the Jibaro thinks that on that day he will have good luck in hunting. On the other hand, if the guayusa does not boil well, he believes that on that day he will not be able to kill any game. In the dream the same thing can be 'seen' (wuimektingu), and this is considered more important. If the Jibaro dreams that he sees his guayusa pot boiling furiously, so that the water whirls round as in a whirlpool, he is convinced that on the following day he will have good luck in killing the wild hog, monkeys, birds, and other animals, and the young men in the house are sent out into the forest to look for game.

1: Karsten--174 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 224, 787, 276 (1928-29)

In general the Jibaros have the idea that the guayusa makes the body strong and swift, particularly for hunting. This also explains why the guayusa forms a part of the medicine given the dogs at the feast Yawápani."

"Late in the evening [JKM: of the wedding tobacco feast] th
women go to some shelters of palm leaves built for them outs
the house, close to the manioc plantations, where they will pa
in her own shelter. The priestess has followed them there an
medicine, whereupon she leaves them alone. The strong med
stomach, cannot fail to have effect and to produce the dreams
cribe so great an importance. If the dreams are 'good', Nung
spirits will appear to the women and speak to them. They wil
hens numerous and fat, they will see the house surrounded by
manioc, plantain, and other fruits. Dreams of this kind will
when they sleep alone in the plantations."

e bride and the two other
de in the neighbourhood of
s the night, each woman
l gives them the Yavinya
cine, taken on an empty
to which the Jibaros as-
ui herself and the other
see the swine and the
flourishing plantations of
be produced more easily

1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

"It has frequently been said that savage peoples, bringing up their children in complete liberty, never punish them for disobedience or faults committed. This may be true of many Indian tribes in South America also, but it would certainly be a mistake to hold such an opinion of the Jibaros. It is true that as a rule the boys seem to understand remarkably [238] well what tribal custom demands of them and easily accommodate themselves to the moral views of their people, but there may be exceptions to this rule. The treatment of mischievous boys who openly defy their parents, tease their younger brothers and sisters, break clay vessels, climb up on the roof of the house damaging the thatch, wring the necks of fowls, etc., is sometimes very severe. It is quite a common thing for a father to seize his disobedient boy by the neck and pour tobacco water into his nose or his eyes. Tobacco, that universal remedy of the Indian, is... used as a means of chastisement, and it is quite probable that in this case too it is supposed to have some magically 'purifying' effects. In more serious cases the following form of punishment is resorted to. A small shelter of palm leaves is constructed for the young offender at the bank of the river. Here he is obliged to stay for two days and nights quite alone, eating nothing; he is allowed to drink only water from the river. The strict fasting having in this way made him more tractable, he must finally take a dose of maikoa, the strong narcotic of the Jibaro Indians. The intention behind this radical cure of course is that the youth shall have the usual dreams and visions, see

the arútama, the spirits of the forefathers, who will admonish him and instruct him as to what the custom of the forefathers requires of him as a member of the tribe."

I: Karsten--24 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
787 (1928-29)

"Great attention is, of course, paid to the dreams of the Jibaro youth [JKM: who is being initiated into manhood at puberty] because in a way they decide his whole future. It is the business of the oldest men of the family to interpret them and to state whether they have been good or bad. The question as to what kinds of dream are regarded as 'good' or 'bad' and the kinds of vision seen will be discussed in the chapter on divination."

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jívaro-1
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

"The education of the boys among the Jibaros, as we have seen, first of all aims at making them brave and skilful warriors. This is the principal object of the feast Kusúpani, described before, which chiefly consists in tobacco ceremonies and the ceremonial drinking of the narcotic maikoa. Only the Jibaro youth who in the dream produced by these narcotics has seen the ancestral spirits, the arútama, and been spoken to by them, can expect to become a valiant and successful warrior, to kill many enemies, and himself secure a long life. When a Jibaro has enemies on whom he wants to take revenge for offences and outrages, perhaps committed long ago, but despairs of being able to do it himself, he systematically tries to awaken and maintain hatred against them in his young sons by discourse directed to them every day. 'The Shuara So-and-so killed my father, my grandfather, my brothers, while I was a child, carried off my mother, my sisters, and burnt our house. This blood-guilt is not yet washed off. It is the duty of you, my sons, to avenge [260] this crime and to kill the enemy or his sons, who are still threatening our family. If you do this, blessing and good luck will follow you in all your undertakings; you will have a long life and be able to kill many other enemies; your plantations will be richly fruit-bearing; your domestic animals, the swine and the chickens, will prosper and grow numerous; there will never be lack of food in your house, 'etc. This discourse is, at times, repeated every morning when the house-father gets up, and with about the same words, and, of course, cannot fail to make an impression upon the minds of the young ones.

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

When a Jibaro chief goes on a war expedition, he often takes his young sons with him in order that they may early learn the art of war and get accustomed to the bloody scenes which take place."

1: Karsten--260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 787, 276, 726 (1928-29)

"Even older warriors, who want to know who their enemies are and whether in a war against them they will be victorious, are in the habit of drinking either maikoa or another narcotic drink, prepared from the stem of the vine Banisteria caapi and called natéma. Maikoa, the effects of which are much stronger, is, however, the particular narcotic of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro why he drinks maikoa he will answer: 'I do it in order to kill my enemies' (Shuara matinyu). The Jibaro warrior generally receives the revelations of the spirits while sleeping alone in the virgin forest in a small shelter made of palm leaves, usually situated many miles away from the habitations of the Indians."

1: Karsten--279 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
787, 276 (1928-29)

"Those preparing for the feud never omit to first consult the spirits, who will let them know whether in the planned attack they will be successful or not. This divination, as already mentioned, is carried out by drinking the narcotic maikoa. The Indian for this purpose retires to the forest where he remains for three days and three nights, fasting strictly and sleeping in a small 'dreaming ranch' (ayámdai). If the dreams are good, among other spirits the demons known under the name of arútama appear to the warrior, speaking to him and telling him whether he will be able to kill the enemy or whether he will perhaps be killed himself."

1: Karsten--315-316 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 787 (1928-29)

"For some time afterwards [JKM: after the feast Suamártinyu] the slayer continually has intercourse with the spirit of the enemy he has killed, whom he meets and converses with, especially in his dreams. Through the ceremonies of conjuration performed, the wakani is now turned into his obedient slave, and is obliged to put his superhuman power and knowledge at his disposal. The spirit gives his victor instructions and advises him as to how the swine and the chickens ought to be fed and taken care of in order that they may grow quickly, get fat and increase, or how the plantations ought to be attended to, cleaned and irrigated, in order that they may flourish and bear abundant fruit. In the dream the spirit shows to the slayer the tracks of the numerous swine which will be the result of such care, and he lets him hear the sound of their grunting. The latter also believes that he sees his house surrounded by large flourishing plantations of manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, and other fruits, even they being the future result of the supernatural power of the tsantsa. The fact that the slayer, through his intercourse with the wakáni, becomes invested with an extraordinary insight into all domestic work, also explains why during this time he becomes the adviser of the women in attending to the domestic animals and in the cultivation of the fields, occupations that normally, according to the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros, are incumbent solely upon the women. With the tsantsa hanging round his neck he now and then goes out in the swine yard and gives the women instructions with regard to details of the care of the

animals, or out to the manioc plantations where he gives them corresponding instructions concerning agriculture.

During all this, however, great caution and care is still necessary for the victor. If he, for instance, is negligent in observing the rules in regard to fasting, it may happen that the result of the whole affair is contrary to the one expected. Through such negligence he not only exposes himself personally to danger, but it may also happen that the swine, instead of growing and increasing in number, will die, through the wakáni, in the shape of a venomous snake, biting them to death, or killing them in some other way: The plantations likewise, instead of flourishing and giving fruit, may dry up. All these calamities are operations of the revengeful spirit, against whom sufficient precautions have not been taken. [316]

If, however, everything has turned out well, if the swine have become full-grown and fat, if the fields have given abundant fruits so that there is a good supply of manioc, bananas, and sweet potatoes, the warrior begins to take steps for the celebration of the proper victory feast, the so-called Einsupani."

1: Karsten--425 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 562, 787 (1928-29)

"Under this general heading it seems to me convenient to treat of certain customs of the Indians which are clearly of a religious or magical nature and are regularly practised when the Indians have to enter into relations with the spiritual world. Everybody is not prepared to take part in religious ceremonies; children for example are excluded until they have passed through the initiations. Fullgrown women, on the other hand, as we have seen, take part in many of them, and there are even religious rites which can only be peformed by the women, because only they possess the 'inner' qualifications necessary for success. But when ordinary conjurations of evil spirits are in question, the men, and particularly old men, are both physically and mentally far in advance of the women."

1: Karsten--432-436 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"In previous chapters certain sacred narcotic drinks of the Jibaros have frequently been mentioned. Thus we have seen what an important part tobacco water plays for instance at the 'feast of the women', when it is supposed to communicate to the married women a wonderful power and ability for their various domestic occupations. The two narcotics known under the names of natéma and maikoa have also frequently been mentioned in connection with Indian divination. I have now to describe these sacred drinks more fully and to explain the religious ideas underlying their use.

The most interesting of these narcotics is no doubt the one which is called natéma by the Jibaros and aya huasca by the Quichua-speaking Indians. This is a poisonous vine, --containing an alcaloid, like the maicoa--the scientific name of which, according to the English botanist R. Spruce, is Banisteria caapi (1), of the family Malpighiaceae. The same traveller states that the plant also grows on the Rio Içanna, on the Uaupés and its affluents in north-west Brazil, as well as on the cataracts of the Orinoco,

"1. In Eastern Ecuador there seem to occur different species of the Banisteria. At any rate the Canelos Indians told me that they use three kinds of aya huasca which they distinguish as the puma aya huasca, the ahuiringri aya huasca, and the tunchi aya huasca. The last-mentioned is particularly used by the medicine-men (tunchi = the magical arrow)."

being used everywhere by the natives in the same way, for magical and divination purposes (2). In Ecuador the liana is best known under its Quichua name aya huasca ('the vine of the souls') (3); it is thus [433] called for instance by the Indians of the Napo, Curaray, Bobonaza, and Pastaza. The Jibaros call both the vine itself and the narcotic prepared from it natéma. The Secoyas on the Rio Aguarico and the savage Avishiris between Napo and Curaray also know the use of the plant. Similarly, the primitive Colorados and Cayapas in western Ecuador cultivate the aya huasca, using it as a magical medicine and for divination.

How the natéma drink is ceremonially prepared at the great feasts of the Jibaros has

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"2. R. Spruce, Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon and the Andes. London, 1908, II. 414 sqq., 423.

3. On the Napo I was assured that the natives call the vine in question haya huasca ('the bitter vine'), which answers to the fact that the drink prepared from it is exceedingly bitter in taste. On the other hand, at Canelos the form aya huasca seems to be the most common, and this name ('the vine of the souls') well accords with the ideas the Indians have about its power of summoning the souls or spirits of the dead."

been described before. Since the drink is exclusively used for religious or magical purposes its preparation is, of course, always more or less ceremonial. Still there are some differences in the details, depending on the different occasions for which the narcotic is used. The natéma, it should be noticed, occurs in two main forms, according as it is used by ordinary people for certain feasts, or by medicine-men and sorcerers when exercising their art.

The Jibaros, like the Canelos Indians, always prepare the natéma drink by boiling the vine. Some pieces of the lower thicker part of it are cut off, carefully washed, and crushed with clubs, so that they can easily be parted into thinner fibres. These are boiled in a pot with water, in ordinary cases only for one or two hours. Then the fibres are taken out and the drink is ready. It is of a brownish-green colour and has a very bitter taste. Usually some tobacco water is added and, in some cases, pieces of the rind of certain magical trees are put into the boiling pot in order to enhance the efficacy of the drink.

At the great feasts the natéma is taken in repeated doses and in comparatively large quantities. The effects appear comparatively slowly and are not very violent. The first effect of the drink is that of an emetic: a few minutes after a person has emptied the pininga offered by the leader of the ceremonies, he or she goes out and throws up the quantity consumed. In general, emetics play an important part in the medical

practices of the Jibaros and are supposed to have very beneficial effects. After a while, and having taken the medicine in repeated doses, the patient begins to tremble and feels giddy; the pulse gets slow and week, [sic] the pupils of the eyes dilate. Lastly he falls asleep. Both before and during the sleep the Indian has strange perceptions and real hallucinations: he sees wonderful landscapes, different kinds of animals as well as people, all of which are guises in which the spirits, with whom he wants to enter into communication, appear to him.

With reference to the different occasions on which the Jibaros drink natéma, I have already mentioned the ceremonial natéma-drinking [434] at the 'feast of the dogs' and the great victory feast. At these feasts, however, comparatively little natéma is drunk. The Jibaros have also special natéma-feasts which last for several days--among the tribes of the Pastaza up to eight days. All inhabitants of the house, even small children, take part in them. The boiling begins early in the morning and lasts till about noon. As usual, pieces of the rind of the tree chingiáta and samiki are added to the natéma-fibres. The drink is at first boiled in several smaller pots on different fires in the house. Later, when the liquid has boiled down, the different quantities are poured into one big earthen pot. Like the consuming of the sacred drink, its actual preparation is ceremonial. While the boiling goes on, and later during the drinking,

the great signal drum of the Jibaros, called tundúi, is beaten in the slow regular time which is customary at the natéma-feasts. The Jibaros assert that in beating their drum they are imitating the demon (iguánchi), who in their belief has his abode in the hills and is himself beating his own tundúi. The drumming is supposed to please the demon, who will come to the place and fill, with his spirit, both the drink and the drinking Indians.

The drinking itself takes place with about the same ceremonies as at the victory-feast. The person who has to drink empties a pininga which is offered him or her by one of the older Indians; he immediately throws up the quantity drunk, drinks again, and again throws it up. In this way considerable quantities are consumed during the natéma-days. The participants in the feast are bound to fast strictly, and are allowed to eat only after they have slept and had their dreams, their food then consisting of boiled and mashed manioc or boiled ripe bananas. This is repeated every day as long as the feast lasts.

The natéma-fibres which remain after the boiling is finished are always carefully guarded in a special place in the house and kept for a long time. The Jibaros allege that they do this only 'to know how much natéma they have drunk during the year'. Evidently even these remains of the wonderful vine are too sacred to be thrown away at once.

If one asks the Indians why they drink natéma in this excessive way, their answer is usually: 'It is in order that the people may not die away'. By this kind of divination they try to find out what dangers are threatening the family, whether enemies are planning an attack against them, whether evil sorcerers are operating against them, whether they will be successful in their own undertakings, and so forth. The magical drink, which as we have seen has the effect of an emetic, [435] purifies the stomach from harmful substances and the magic arrows of wizards. For this reason the Indians always pay great attention to what they throw up after they have taken this medicine. At the same time both men and women are, by drinking natéma, made strong and clever for their different occupations and duties, the men for hunting, fishing, war, etc., the latter for agriculture, for the education of the children, for the care of the domestic animals, and for other domestic work incumbent on them.

Apart from these general drinking-bouts, the grown-up members of the Jibaro community, not only the men but also the women, frequently drink natéma on several particular occasions. This drinking-ceremony usually takes place in the house. An earthen pot (pininga) containing the sacred drink is placed on the earth; the Indian who has to drink takes stand in front of the pininga, and thereupon begins to move to and fro in a sort of dance, muttering an incantation without words. Suddenly he seizes the

pininga and empties it in one draught. The next moment he throws up the whole quantity drunk. Meanwhile, the cup has again been filled with natéma. The Indian again approaches the cup, dances and mutters an incantation just as he did the first time, and empties the pininga at a draught. The effects of the drink are now beginning to show themselves. The Indian takes a stick in order to lean upon it when he gets intoxicated. He staggers to and fro on the earthen floor, mutters some unintelligible words to summon the spirits, he leans against the stick and again throws up the natéma drunk. The same thing is repeated for the third, fourth, fifth time and so on, until at last the man is wholly overcome by the narcotic and goes off into a deep sleep, filled with the usual visions and hallucinations.

The Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking natéma in all matters which are of particular importance to him. Since an elderly man, and especially a warrior, nearly always believes himself to be threatened by enemies, he tries above all, by this kind of divination, to find out whether he has any enemies, who they are, and whether in making an attack against them he will be victorious, gain rich spoil, etc. Similarly he consults the natéma-spirits in order to know whether a journey he intends to make will turn out well, whether his wives are faithful to him, whether he will be lucky with a new woman whom he intends to marry, whether strangers will arrive on a visit, and so forth.

As we have seen, among the Jibaros even women are allowed to drink natéma. Thus, at the victory-feast, drinking the natéma on the [436] second day of the feast seems to be even obligatory on the nearest female relatives of the victor. It is also considered very important that the younger married women should take part in the general natéma-festivals, since in this way they will acquire the strength, skill, and insight necessary for their domestic occupations. During their dreams they get instruction by the spirits in these very matters. On these occasions, among other spirits, the mythical ancestress of the Jibaro culture, the Earth-mother Nungüi, appears to the woman, giving her advice and instruction with regard to the agriculture and consoling her in times of crop-failure and famine. In other matters which interest women she also receives the advice of the natéma-spirits. Thus, for instance, a widow who is looking for a new husband is in the habit of drinking natéma in order to be able to make a good choice.

The following instance, which tells us how a woman received the sacred stone nantára, gives us an idea of the revelations which the Jibaro women believe they have when intoxicated by natéma. Once, she told me, while she was still a girl, she was given natéma to drink. When she was well intoxicated, her grandmother came, seized her both hands, blew upon them and upon her arms, sprinkling juice of tobacco from her own mouth, and said to the girl: 'You will not die soon, you will have a long life and have much to eat. The stone which you wear in the hand will effect this'. In the same

moment there came, as it were, a flash of lightning from the heaven and the girl heard the voice of the spirit which said to her: 'I am your ancestral mother (apachiru), I will give you this stone in order that you shall have a long life'. Thereupon the vision passed, and when the hands of the girl were opened in the light of day, a wonderful red stone, nantára, was found in them. The stone called nantára is consequently by the Jibaro women looked upon as a fetish which not only gives a house-mother a long life and success in all domestic tasks but especially promotes the growth of the crops. It is therefore used by the women in agriculture in the way we have seen before (p. 128)."

1: Karsten--438-441 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 276, 787 (1928-29)

"Equal in importance to the natéma (aya huasca) and still stronger in its effects is the narcotic which is called maíkoa (maikoma) by the Jibaros and huántuc by the Canelos Indians. It is prepared from a shrub, the scientific name of which is Datura arborea of the family Solanaceae. Its poisonous properties may be compared with those of beladonna or opium, and even seem to surpass them. Insensibility, hallucinations, and even temporary madness seem to be the regular effects produced by this narcotic drug. The species Datura in Ecuador grows both in the tropical virgin forests and in the subtropical mountain regions, but there are at least two sub-species of it, D. arborea and D. stramonium. The beautiful bell-shaped flowers of the former sub-species are larger and nearly white in colour; of the latter smaller and of yellow-red colour. Both of them are equally poisonous. The half-civilised Indians of the Sierra, when they want to harm their enemies, practise nefarious magic by means of the flowers of the D. stramonium. It is the other sub-species which is used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The beautiful shrub is everywhere specially cultivated, and is usually found among other garden plants outside the houses.

In order to prepare the maíkoa-drink, the Jibaro Indian scratches off some of the light green rind of the stem, and sqeezes [sic] out the juice with the hand into a gourd until he gets the desired quantity, about a small drinking-glass full.(about 200 gr.). This is the dose which is taken at one time by one person and seems to be sufficient to

produce the effects desired.

Thus, maíkoa is not prepared by cooking like natéma, but simply consists of the juice contained in the rind. It is of a light green colour and not bitter to the taste like natéma, but rather insipid. Its effects, as already mentioned, are much stronger and show sooner than those of the other narcotic. Young people, when they take maíkoa for the first time, often become mad and strike out with weapons, sticks, and whatever they happen to get hold of, and may then become dangerous to those around. Therefore, when a Jibaro youth drinks maíkoa, some older [439] men are always present who watch his movements and sometimes even tie him down. The drugged man begins to talk confusedly and incoherently about all sorts of visions which he imagines he has, about spirits whom he fancies he meets, and at last falls into a deep, lethargic sleep, 'just as if he were dead' (hakáma).

Maíkoa is drunk by the Jibaros on much the same occasions as the natéma, and the revelations which they imagine they receive are much the same; yet to a still higher degree than the latter narcotic, maíkoa is the particular drink of warriors. If one asks a Jibaro Indian why he drinks maíkoa, his answer is usually: 'It is in order to see whether I shall kill my enemies' (shuāra mātinyu). The Jibaro warrior therefore never starts on a war expedition without previously consulting the spirits by drinking maíkoa. The same spirit tells him whether he is himself threatened by his enemies, whether he

will have a long life, and so forth. Similarly in other important matters, although they have no particular reference to war, the Jibaro Indian consults the spirits by drinking maíkoa.

The drinking ceremony takes place in the house, but the Indian prepares for it by taking tobacco water in repeated doses, and for this purpose he retires to the forest. In a remote place far from the habitations of men--sometimes the Indian has to walk one or two days to reach it--a shelter of palm leaves is constructed; it is the 'dreaming-hut', called ayámdai. It is much larger and made with greater care than the ordinary Indian shelter, and outside it there is an open place where the ground is carefully cleared and made level. On this open place the spirits appear dancing in all sorts of terrible shapes, and first of all come those powerful demons whom the Jibaros call arútama, 'the Old Ones', who give the sleeping Indian information and advice in the matters which interest him.

The 'dreaming-hut' is generally made in the neighbourhood of a waterfall where the water comes down from the high cliffs in the forest, forming a small pool below. In this pool the Indian takes a bath before and after the sleep.

The Jibaros are in the habit of retiring to the forest on these occasions because the arútama are supposed to appear to them more easily there. Generally the Indian who wants to dream remains away for three or four days. He may go alone, or he may go

in company with other men. While on the way he has to fast strictly, but instead of food he takes tobacco water in repeated doses, through the nose. As soon as he reaches [440]the shelter, he first takes a bath, standing in the pool and allowing the streaming water to fall on his naked shoulders. The bath will prepare him favourably for the sleep and the revelations of the spirits. These spirits, it should be understood, are demons of the forest, but they are also present in the water of the cascades. After the bath the Indian goes to the hut, where in the evening he again prepares tobacco water, boiling the leaves in a small earthen pot which he has brought with him for the purpose. Having taken some of the medicine he falls in a deep sleep. In the following morning he again takes a bath in the pool. During the whole day he stays in the shelter, fasting strictly, a roasted plantain being his only food. On the other hand, he goes on taking tobacco water. Living in this way he spends a couple of days in the forest. On the fourth day, having taken his last bath in the waterfall, he returns home where he tells his dreams to the other Indians. It is only then that he takes maíkoa, of which one dose alone, after his nervous sensibility has been enhanced by the tobacco-drinking and the fasting, will infallibly produce in him the usual strange physical and psychical effects.

The drinking of tobacco water in the forest on these occasions seems to play an almost more important part than the maíkoa-drinking which takes place at home. As a

matter of fact, the Jibaros generally enhance, by means of tobacco, the natural efficacy of the other narcotic drinks. Thus, tobacco water is also usually taken in preparation for natéma-drinking.

Since among the Jibaros the education of the boys chiefly aims at making them good warriors, maíkoa-drinking also occurs as a puberty ceremony. When, among the Jibaro tribes of the Upano and Santiago, boys reach the age of puberty, the feast called Kusúpani is held and the principal feature of it is tobacco-taking. On the fifth and last day the boy has to drink maíkoa. The details of this feast have been described before. Among the Pastaza tribes boys are initiated into manhood by maíkoa-drinking without previous tobacco ceremonies.

Maíkoa is moreover taken on the following occasions, as has appeared from my previous statements.

After the great victory feast has been brought to an end, the victor generally retires to the forest where he stays for some days taking maíkoa.

The making of the great signal drum, tundúi, is also celebrated by maíkoa-drinking in the way we have already seen.

The Jibaro man generally takes maíkoa after he has punished his [441] wife for infidelity. Again, boys who behave badly and are disobedient to their parents must drink maíkoa as a punishment, in the way related before.

Although maíkoa is particularly the drink of the warriors, it may also be consumed by women, just as is the case with natéma. This, however, seems to be a comparatively rare occurrence. On these occasions the ancestral spirits, the arútama, are supposed to appear to them, and especially the Earth-mother Nungüi. When appearing to women these spirits do not of course give them instruction and information about affairs of war, but about domestic work and occupations which concern the women, in the same way as when they drink natéma.

The above description refers particularly to the practices of the Jibaros, which are of special interest. The CANELOS INDIANS, who were once as warlike as their relatives and neighbours the Jibaros, formerly practised the drinking of huántuc on much the same occasions as these. Nowadays they no longer make war against their enemies. Still even to-day huántuc-drinking plays quite an important role in the practical religion of the Canelos Indians, but mainly in connection with their magic and witchcraft. Huántuc, like aya huasca, is therefore chiefly taken by medicine-men and sorcerers, partly when they are curing disease, partly when they are trying to harm their enemies by nefarious magic. On these occasions the sorcerer is adorned in the way described before, wearing red facial painting and a feather crown on the head. Before he empties the mucahua (clay dish) containing the sacred drink, he sings a long conjuration over it, invoking certain demons, and particularly the paccha supai, the

demon of the cascades, inviting him to come to the place and to fill the drink and the sorcerer himself with his power. This incantation is called taquſshca. Afterwards, while waiting for the divine or demoniacal inspiration, he also plays the instrument turúmba in order to 'hurry on' the spirits."

"The Jibaros usually take tobacco in a liquid form, but in some cases they smoke it, making big cigars of the leaves. In the former case the leaves are either boiled in water, or chewed in the mouth and carefully mixed with saliva. When used at the great feasts the medicine is always prepared with saliva, which is supposed to enhance its supernatural effects. This medicine is prepared by an old man who conducts the ceremonies, and he has also to dispense it to the persons in whose honour the feast is held. The men on these occasions always receive the tobacco juice through the nose, the women again through the mouth.

After two or three doses the effects of the medicine are generally noticeable. The Indian turns pale and the whole body begins to tremble. After repeated doses giddiness and fainting-fits frequently occur, especially in women. At last the person in question becomes quite drugged and falls into a long sleep filled with peculiar dreams.

Tobacco is taken on the following occasions: first, as a universal remedy against disease and evils of any kind; secondly, as a prophylactic means of enhancing the magical power of the body, particularly to resist the evil spirits; and lastly, as a real narcotic to produce dreams. In all three cases the plant has a purely magical or religious significance.

When the Jibaro Indian gets up in the morning, he not only washes his mouth with guayusa, but generally also takes some tobacco water, especially if in some respect

he does not feel quite well. Having boiled the leaves in a small clay pot with water, he pours some of the decoction into his hand, draws it in through the nose and allows it to flow out through the mouth. This procedure is repeated several times. The strong medicine clears the head and is believed to have beneficial effects upon the whole body. In all cases of general indisposition, of headache, catarrh, and other slight illnesses, the Jibaro Indian makes use of this wonderful remedy to remove the evil. Besides, tobacco is regarded as an excellent prophylactic against witchcraft. To protect themselves against evil influences the Jibaros not only take tobacco [443] juice as a medicine, but are also in the habit of painting their body with it. Thus at the victory-feast I noticed that some of the men painted all sorts of 'geometrical' figures on the face and breast with tobacco juice, a decoration which, of course, was hardly visible upon the brown skin of the Indians, but was evidently supposed to possess prophylactic power.

From my previous statements it appears that tobacco is ceremonially used on many different occasions. It is the particular medicine of sorcerers and medicine-men. It is indispensable at the great feasts, the feast of the women, called Noa tsangu (literally: 'the tobacco feast of the women'); the feast of the men, called Kusúpani (literally: 'the tobacco-smoking feast'); and at the Einsupani, the great victory-feast of the Jibaros. On these occasions tobacco is in the first place used as a prophylactic against evil spirits and as a means of enhancing the natural power of resistance of the body;

but in the second place it also serves the purpose of producing artificial sleep. On the other hand, there are cases when the medicine is exclusively taken as a narcotic in the latter sense. Just as the Indian take natéma and maikoa 'in order to have dreams', so they drink tobacco water for the same purpose.

The procedure has already been described in connection with the custom of drinking maikoa, for which, as we found, the Indian generally prepares by drinking tobacco water. As usual, the Indians on these occasions retire to the forest where, sleeping in the 'dreaming-hut' (ayámdai) they can more easily enter into communication with the spirits. Among the Pastaza-tribes the men remain in the forest for any period up to eight days. These are mostly younger people and as a rule several of them go out together. While on the way they fast strictly, taking, instead of food, tobacco water in repeated doses. For this purpose they rub the leaves between their hands and chew them, whereupon they spit out the stuff on a maize-leaf, mix in some more saliva and a little water, stirring it with their finger, and immediately take the medicine. This tobacco-diet is continued until they reach the dreaming-hut. This place, as already stated, is situated in the neighbourhood of a natural waterfall, where the Indians may take a bath before and after the sleep. Even here, while they receive the cold water upon their naked shoulders, they are still taking tobacco, mixing the chewed mass of tobacco with the water of the cascade and swallowing it. Thereafter they go to the hut

where they pass the night. The following morning they tell their [444] dreams and visions to one another and discuss their possible significance. During the whole day, as usual, they only eat one roasted green plantain. This way of living is continued for every day of the time passed in the hut. When eight days have elapsed they return to their homes, very thin and weak on account of the strict fasting, but yet content if they have had favourable dreams.

The aim of this tobacco-drinking is the same as that of drinking natéma and maikoa. By submitting to this hard trial the Jibaro youths in the first place try to make themselves brave and successful warriors. They want to 'see their enemies' and to know whether they will be able to kill them, whether they themselves will have a long life, and so forth. Information about these matters is given them by those mysterious spirits which are called arútama and which always appear to the narcotized Indian, whether the medicine causing the supernatural state is tobacco, natéma, or maikoa."

1: Karsten--444-451 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 787, 276 (1928-29)

"We now know the three powerful narcotics of the Jibaro Indians and the ways in which they are used. We have further to examine more closely the religious ideas which are connected with these narcotic drinks. The first question we have to answer is what ideas the Indians have about dreams in general.

The 'belief in dreams', i.e. the belief that the experiences man has during his dreams are as real as the experiences he has when awake, has frequently been said to be a characteristic feature of the mentality of primitive peoples in general. This mode of expression, however, is not quite adequate in regard to the beliefs of the Indians with whom we are dealing; too little is expressed by it. The Jibaros as a matter of fact are of opinion that only in dreams is true reality revealed to man. Normal, conscious life is a delusion in which we can have no confidence; it is full of deception, falsehood, and lies. Only the dream unveils to us the real essence of things, 'the thing in itself'. In the dream all men whom we meet, even our foes, invariably tell us the truth, and all know more than when awake, for here it is the souls (wakáni, aya) that meet, freed from the bonds of the corporeal existence. Even the dead, who in ordinary cases only seldom show themselves to the living, appear to the Indian in dreams, warning and instructing him by virtue of the supernatural knowledge they possess. The same is true of the other spirits and demons, the iguánchi and supai, otherwise so greatly feared by the Indians: being under magical restraint they do the sleeping Indian

no harm, but on the [445] contrary act as his friends and advisers. Whoever therefore wants to know the real truth concerning the present time and especially concerning the future must sleep and have dreams, and since the sleep which nature by itself gives to man is not sufficient, it is necessary to produce it by artificial means.

Even the normal dreams are always believed by the Indians to have some prognostic significance. If, for instance, the Jibaro Indian dreams that he sees his enemies, fights with them and succeeds in killing them, he believes that in making war against them he will be victorious. If he dreams that he brings down many wild hogs, monkeys, and birds of the forest with his lance or his poisoned arrows, he is convinced that on the following day he will be lucky in hunting. If in the dream he meets strange Indians or white men, he is sure that such guests will soon arrive at his house. Similarly, if he dreams that in the forest or on the river some disaster happens to him, he interprets this as a bad omen and on the following day does not leave the house. An Indian on the Rio Upano once told me that during the preceeding night he had dreamt about a venomous snake which stung him in the forest. He had intended to go out hunting that day, but on account of the disagreeable dream he put it off and did not leave the house for three days. If he had gone out in the forest the following day, he said, he would certainly have been stung by a venomous snake.

However, those dreams are prophetic in the proper sense of the word which have been

produced by drinking natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, for in such dreams the very spirits are, by conjuration, compelled to appear, who are able to give information about future events. These spirits are essentially the ancestors (apáchiru) of the sleeping Indian, who give their descendants advice and instruction. But on the other hand these spirits are also the souls (wakáni) of the narcotic plants themselves, with whom the Indian enters into intimate communion by consuming the drinks. It may, moreover, be added that the spirits which animate the natéma, the maikoa, and the tobacco are the souls of men; hence these drinks can only be prepared by the men, just as the corresponding plants can only be planted by the men.

The visions and other experiences which the Indians believe they have in the state of intoxication produced by natéma (aya huasca) and maikoa (huántuc) are in some

details differently described by the Jibaros [446] and the Canelos Indians (1). The CANELOS INDIAN, narcotized by aya huasca, in the first place sees wonderful landscapes, forests, hills, snow-clad volcanoes, lakes, rivers, or, more strictly speaking, the spirits (supai) which inhabit all these localities; secondly, the dead (aya) in the shape of skeletons; further, living people--Indians and white men, men and women--; finally, all sorts of animals, tucans and other magical birds, jaguars, pumas, bears, venomous snakes, and especially the giant serpent (amárun). All of these are demoniacal animals,

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"1. As to the effects which the drinks prepared from the Banisteria caapi and Datura arborea produce upon a white man, I can only say that, living as I have mostly done, alone among the Indians I have not taken the risk of consuming them in larger quantities for the purpose of stating their mental and physiological effects. Still I have tasted both of them, finding the first exceedingly bitter, like quinine, and the second somewhat insipid and nauseous. White settlers at Canelos and Macas who have tried the aya huasca (natéma) have told me that in the state of intoxication they have in part had the same experiences as the Indians, seeing wonderful landscapes, hills, and rivers, beautiful birds, etc. Those particular 'spirits', on the other hand, whom the Indians profess to see, do not of course present themselves to a person who does not share their religious ideas and superstitions."

or forms in which the demons (supai) appear to the Indians. Since the Canelos Indians ascribe diseases to many of these demons, and particularly to the demons of the hills (úrcu supai), to jaguars (puma supai), and to venomous snakes, they appear especially to medicine-men who have drunk aya huasca for the purpose of curing disease, and they are compelled to extract the bewitching arrow (chunta), which they themselves have sent, from the body of the patient. The spirits also speak to the sleeping Indian, giving him advice and information.

To receive the revelations of the spirits in a state of intoxication is by the JIBAROS called wuimektinyu, which simply means 'to see'. The things which they 'see' are about the same in the dreams produced by natéma, maikoa, and tobacco, only with a small difference which I shall presently indicate. Thus, to the Jibaro Indian also in the first place wonderful landscapes, hills, rivers, and forests appear, since the spirits and demons inhabiting these localities (wakáni, iguánchi) are compelled to draw near. Particularly powerful, although generally malignant, are those demons who inhabit the hills and cordilleras (neindya iguánchi), who are the souls of dead sorcerers. These demons therefore particularly appear to the the [sic] medicine-men when curing disease. Again, when a Jibaro Indian for instance drinks a narcotic at some of the great feasts, [447] his visions have special reference to his domestic and economic life: he sees his swine and hens numerous and fat, he sees his house surrounded by flourishing manioc

and plantain fields, and so forth. Further, the Indian sees all sorts of game, wild turkeys, tucans, parrots, wild pigs, agoutis, etc. When the sleeping Indian has such visions, it may happen that he suddenly starts up in excitement, points with his fingers at the birds and animals he fancies he sees, and exclaims: wuimekta, wuimekta, úmi surústa, úmi wakérahei, seása wakerahei, kúndinyaka túkusa yuohei, kuchi yuohei, atáshi yuohei, pákki yuohei, káyuka yuohei, etc. that is: 'Behold, behold! Give me a blowgun, I want a blowgun, I want arrow-poison, I am shooting game to eat it, I am eating pig's flesh, I am eating hen's flesh, I am eating the flesh of the hog, the flesh of the hare', etc. At such moments he must be held down on his bed by his comrades, but the fact that he has experiences of this kind is interpreted as a favourable omen by them: 'He has good visions, he has certainly seen the spirits'.

On the other hand, some Jibaro Indians at least say that when intoxicated by natéma or tobacco they see no human beings, who only appear to them after they have drunk maikoa. Among other spirits then appearing to them there are men, both Indians (Jibaros) and white men 'dressed in black clothes'. All these human apparitions are the ancestors (apachiru) of the sleeping Indian (for according to the tradition of the Jibaros even the whites have once been Jibaros), who give their descendants advice and instruction. The Jibaros call them maikoa eintseri, 'the maikoa-people'.

With the maikoa-people come other spirits. Among these there are not only the nature spirits and animal demons mentioned above; even inanimate objects, like articles of clothing, implements, weapons, needles, etc. appear to the sleeper as animate and assume the shape of young Indians.

The most important, however, of all spirits are the mysterious demons which have already been introduced under the name of arútama, and who make their appearance partly in the shape of wild animals, partly as striking phenomena of nature, partly in other shapes. At any rate these demons always appear when, from the Indian point of view, the dream is favourable or 'good'.

When these spirits, and especially the maikoa eintseri and the arútama, appear to the young Jibaro, who has taken the narcotic drink for the first time, they say to him: 'You have drunk our blood, you are a [448] good man, you will live long and kill your enemies in battle. Your domestic animals, the swine and the hens, will multiply, your fields will flourish and give abundant fruit. Your changina (basket of plaited vines) will always be full, you will not become poor but lead a plentiful life'. In private affairs the spirits give him true information and directions. If, for instance, he intends to make war against a strange tribe, the spirits let him know before hand whether he will be successful or not. 'This or that enemy', they say, 'you will vanquish and bring his head to your home'; or: 'If you make war against that and that enemy you will have no success, but you will be killed yourself'. Similarly, if he wants to kill a sorcerer of

his own tribe who has bewitched one of his relatives with magic art the spirits tell him whether he will succeed in doing so or not.

The word arútama means 'the Old Ones'. These spirits, it should be understood, are the first ancestors of the Jibaros, and they were great warriors. Among the spirits there are, in the first place, two human apparitions. The first is called ikyáhinamchi. He is a Jibaro Indian, 'a red form enveloped in flames', and therefore not clearly visible. His voice, on the other hand, is distinctly heard. He calls out to the sleeping Indian, through his closed hand, certain words in the peculiar, staccato tone which is customary among the Jibaros when, in performing the Enéma, they ceremonially salute one another: wi--wikáhei--shuara --nikápsatahei--andúcta, that is: 'I go off (to the war), I will take (the heads of my enemies), listen!' The other human form is called mayéi, and he is also a Jibaro Indian. His name is derived from his custom of repeatedly calling out to the sleeper in a loud voice: mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, mayéita, i.e. 'kill, kill!' To see or to hear the ikyáhinamchi or the mayéi in narcotic sleep is regarded as a good omen, for such a warrior will certainly be able to kill enemies.

Most of the arútama however, are animal demons. Among these there are in the first place the greatest and most dangerous beasts of prey which the Indian knows, first of all different species of the feline family: soacha, the great black jaguar, yambinga,

shia-shia, yantsa, different kinds of the great spotted jaguar, the lion or puma, hap-ayawára, different kinds of tiger cat, called amicha, yantána, undúchama.

A powerful arútama is moreover the giant snake, Boa constrictor, and especially the water boa, called pangi or cuichi by the Jibaros. Besides the pangi, his 'brother' tsungi, another and probably purely mythical water monster, is revered as an arútama. Other water demons [449] of the same class are the great caiman or crocodile, kan-yátsa, and the great otter, wangánimi, which is called by the Quichua-speaking Indians yacu puma, 'the water tiger'.

The bird demons are particularly numerous among the arútama. Among these are first of all the largest birds of prey, the great eagle or harpy, unta pinchu, the condor, yápu, and the owl, ambúsha; further, the demoniacal tucan, tsukánga, and another smaller bird of the tucan family called pininchi. The great macaws, the red one, takúmbi, and the yellow one, yambúna, are also arútama; further, the common green parrot kávashu, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola), called súmga by the Jibaros, the pelican, kauá, and two other birds of the forest which I have not been able to identify and of which the first is called sicha in the Jibaro language, the other chacu.

The sleeping Indian only dimly perceives the monsters which appear to him in the dream as arútama, but he hears their voices when, each in its own way, they speak to him. He hears the roar of the jaguar, the mighty soughing of the wing-strokes of the

great eagle, the terrible hissing of the giant snake, and so forth. The smaller animals and birds also appear in narcotic dreams in a somewhat different shape than in normal life: their dimensions are much larger, but the visionary only perceives them in part --of the birds, for instance, he only sees the head and the neck, but not the wings-- and all of them have the faculty of speech since, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors are incarnated in them.

Other arútama have the form of striking phenomena of nature. Among these there is the powerful hurricane (nássi) which frequently suddenly arises in tropical South America, passes through a limited area and causes great destruction in the virgin forest. Such hurricanes are always ascribed by the Indians to certain powerful demons (iguánchi), and the fact that these demons figure among the arútama makes it clear that they partake of the nature of ancestral souls. Other phenomena of nature which are explained in the same way, by the action of certain powerful spirits, are the lightning, chareimbi, the meteors and comets, payára, and the rainbow, tundyáka. These likewise appear to the Jibaro Indian in narcotic sleep and figure among the arútama.

Although in natural life these demons, or at least some of them, are regarded as being very malignant, they generally do the sleeping Indian no harm since they are under magical restraint or influence; on the contrary, as a rule they appear as his friends and advisers. Still [450] it may sometimes happen--as I was told by a Jibaro--that

an arútama wholly overpowers the dreamer and kills him on the spot. This idea seems to indicate that in exceptional cases the Indians may die from a too strong narcotic intoxication.

A practical consequence of the 'good' dreams is that if in real life the Jibaro warrior happens to meet for instance a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, or an eagle, he does not fear him and does not take to flight, but on the contrary is able to defy such a creature. He brandishes his lance, making threatening movements against him in the way customary among the Jibaros when they challenge their enemies, and calling out to him: 'You I know very well, for I have seen you in the dream. Come along, I do not fear you, I will kill you with my lance!' This is at the same time a proof to his comrades that he has really had 'good' dreams and has seen the arútama, and that he is a brave warrior. But if, on the contrary, a Jibaro, when meeting a jaguar, a giant snake, a crocodile, an eagle, shows fear and takes to flight, this to his fellow-tribesmen is a proof that he has had bad dreams and would not make a good warrior, and that he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies.

In the same way, the Jibaro who has seen the arútama will not fear lightning, a rainbow, a falling meteor or a hurricane. On the contrary, even these enemies he boldly challenges with his lance and with words. In the dream he has, once for all, become acquainted with these phenomena, normally so terrible to the Indians; he knows

their true nature and has been hardened against them.

Among the arútama there are some other striking appearances. One is called uhúmuka: it is a human head cut off, which is seen wandering along the ground. The spirit says to the sleeping Indian: 'You will become a brave warrior, you will go far away on the war-path and kill your enemies'. Similarly, if the Jibaro wants to kill a sorcerer of his own tribe, the uhúmuka-demon tells him whether he will be successful or not. Another arútama appears as a human arm cut off which is seen to float in the air. If only the forearm with the hand is visible, the appearance is called wehánga; if the dreamer only sees the upper arm, it is called kunduána. If in the dream the Indian tries to seize this arm, it vanishes into the air. The wehánga or kunduána says to the dreamer: 'Take this arm; I am your ancestor, the arm of your forefathers (apáchiru). Do not fear, with this arm you will be strong and kill your enemies'. A third appearance of the same kind is the makuána: [451] this is a leg cut off. This arutama, too, speaks to the dreamer in the same way as the other spirits and gives him good foreshadowings.

All these are what we have called 'good' dreams. We may ask, on the other hand, of what kind are the bad dreams. If the young Indian, during a narcotic sleep has no dreams at all, this is regarded as a bad omen. 'He is not a real man', is in that case the judgement of the oldest men of the tribe, 'he will become no warrior, and he will

not be able to kill any enemies'. If the Indian does not only sleep the whole night, but continues sleeping all the following day till sunset, this is also looked upon as a very serious omen. 'He will certanly [sic] not live long, he will soon sink into the earth like the sun'. If the arútama do not appear at all, if the young Jibaro has other kinds of visions or quite insignificant dreams, this is regarded as equally fatal. 'That youth will not live long, he will not kill any enemies, but he will probably soon fall a victim to his enemies'. Such are the judgements which are most frequently passed on the 'bad' dreams by the old dream-interpreters.

Besides this, it is only natural that even the arútama and the maikoa eintseri sometimes give fore-shadowings which are unfavourable. If, for instance, the Jibaro warrior will soon fall a victim to the attacks of his enemies, the spirits may frankly tell him so beforehand. 'You will not live long, you will soon be killed by your enemies'. If he will perish through the magic arrow of a sorcerer or through some accident, the spirits may in the same way foretell it. It is characteristic of the demons who appear under the influence of the narcotic drinks that they always speak the absolute truth, just as they seem to possess actual knowledge.

It may also happen that the young Jibaro indeed sees the arútama, but in the very dream gets frightened at the sight of them and flees from them, so that he cannot be instructed by them or hardened against them. This, of course, is also a 'bad' dream.

I have so far mainly spoken of the ideas of the Jibaro Indians proper. As to the visions of the CANELOS INDIANS when drinking huántuc, I have still to add that on these occasions they do not pretend to see any animal demons or nature spirits. What then appears to them is only a white man dressed in black clothes. This being is called pasúca by the Canelos Indians, and he is the real huántuc-demon (huántuc supai). He takes the sleeping Indian through the air to a distant place, where he gives him the warnings and instructions desired."

4: Up de Graff--243-244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 152, 787

"On the eighth day the climax came. We sighted an island, which seemed to be ideal for pitching camp, and put into shore with the intention of deciding once and for all, what we were going to do with those treacherous and demoralized creatures who moaned and babbled between every half-dozen strokes of the paddle. But we were not destined to play an active part in the settlement of the problem, after all, for no sooner had we landed and lain down to rest than Pitacunca, by virtue of his high office, had resort to the never-failing hayahuasca (bitter wine--Inca). The plant is the means by which the medicine men of the Upper Amazon throw them[244]selves into a trance (in reality a state of drunken semi-torpor) from the depths of which they utter prophetic statements which are received with as much reverence as were ever those of the Sybil. Their power for good or evil is thus unlimited, for they pour forth their visions to a spell-bound audience which hangs on every word."

4: Up de Graff--244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 787, 152

"That night Pitacunca was determined to go no further. He drank his hayahuasca with his 'prophecy' prepared. Within a minute he was rolling about on the ground, groaning, vomiting, sighing, and wailing out his awful warning to a concourse of terror-stricken individuals, who wished they had never been such fools as to venture up the Santiago for the sake of a shining axe.

'Your homes are on fire and your families fleeing through the woods,' wailed Pitacunca, his voice rising above the moans of his audience; 'the Huambizas have taken off half your wives into captivity; but far worse than all the Huambiza devils in the Santiago valley, comes the news to your fugitive children that they are running from their attacks only to be stricken down with smallpox that walks abroad among our people (renewed groans); hungry and homeless, they know not where to turn (a positive hurricane of wailing); black ruin and death await you all, if you return not to stem the tide of disaster.'

With a final long-drawn-out sigh, Pitacunca ceased. But he had done his work. Panic ran riot in the camp. Muttering and whimpering, the Antipas ran hither and thither at the bidding of the drunken old fraud who professed to be their protector. We saw that it was useless to expect to get another minute's work out of them. Pitacunca, with an invincible superstition at his back, had won the day."

4: Up de Graff--244-245 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 756, 787

"Among all the Jívaro tribes the medicine man is omnipotent but short-lived. He lasts as long as his [245] prophecies are not too disastrously wrong. Sooner or later he leads his people (of whom he is virtually chief) into disaster, having made a bad guess, and is sacrificed by those who before followed his every word. Plain proof of the blind credulity of his followers is to be found in the manner of his qualification for his office. Some ambitious old fake with his eye on the coveted post takes a reed-flute (the only instrument except the tom-tom known to the people) and (according to his own story) goes off down the river at dead of night, alone, for many miles, where he seats himself on a sand-bar and plays till the anacondas come out of the water and dance round him. Many times he tries, until at length one morning he walks into the settlement and announces that his great powers have at last prevailed, and he has enticed the serpents to his very feet. And so his authority is born. In times of peace he is the official weather-prophet and astrologer, indicating the proper phase of the moon in which to plant; he is the one and only jambi-chemist; he is the doctor, with a forest full of remedies at his command, and it must be added, in all fairness to him, that he understands the use of ipecacuana, quinine (béllacacara in Inca), and a number of the natural drugs which he extracts from the forest, some known to modern science and some not."

10: Anthony--147-148 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 776, 787, 276

"The Jivaros do not believe in a benign deity, but in a power which is spoken of by the Spaniards as el diablo, the devil. This being is not necessarily malicious in his attributes, but rather is considered to be a 'Super-Jivaro,' one powerful in all matters, omnipotent for good or evil but not loving evil for its own sake. When an important project is under consideration--a foray for wives or a long hunting trip into the territory of a hostile neighbor--the Jivaro deems it of the utmost importance that the 'devil' be consulted. For this purpose he retires to some secluded spot, let us say a small hill off in the jungle, and there drinks a quantity of a certain vegetable extract. This extract, made from the bark of a root, is a dark fluid [148] resembling coffee. It produces a narcotic effect upon the human system and the Jivaro passes into a stupor of several hours' duration, during which he experiences various weird hallucinations. One of these hallucinations is that the devil comes to him and gives advice regarding the proposed plan. If favorable views upon the matter are entertained by the devil, the project will be attempted. Consultation with the devil may be had by any man, for it is not the special province of any priestly class. I have spoken with white men who have sampled this narcotic drink and from the reports of its effects I judge the active principle of it must be some powerful alkaloid."

It is this omnipotent spirit who directs all the important acts of the Jíbaro's life. His advice is asked when a war is undertaken, it is to him that the wounded address themselves in order to recover their health, it is he who reveals to those who please him the most important secrets for the tribe. In order to enter communication with him it is necessary to drink the infusion of natema(1), the preparation of which I have already described. For this operation, the Indians choose a high and isolated hill. At Macas, the customary place is a hill, from the top of which one can see Sangay (2), a ceaselessly active volcano which seems to play a big part in the religious ideas of the Jíbaros of this region and which they call Tungura (3), a word that the missionaries have adopted to designate hell.

From the bottom of the hill up to the summit, a road is made either in a straight line, or in a spiral, and lined with flowers; at the top, a little shelter (iyámtei) is built, before which a space in the form of an elongated quadrilateral is laid out and levelled. He who is to undergo the test climbs up accompanied by all those who have some interest

1. Colonel Proaño speaks of a narcotic called naje employed for the same purpose by the Ayulis Indians and which ought to be analagous to natema: Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., tome III, page 407.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 146.

in the consulation of the iguanchi; having arrived at the top, his companions begin to dance to the sound of drums and flutes, during which the hero of the feast drinks the natema. As soon as he falls overcome by the narcotic, the crowd withdraws, leaving him alone in the shelter, after having lit near him a big pile of wood in order to keep beasts away (4). The drink immediately provokes an erethism of all the senses, with hallucinations, as well as a great muscular excitation; the hair bristles, the eyes water, the nostrils dilate, there is a [239] trembling of the lips; gritting of teeth, convulsions, and a loud rattling in the throat. Then follows a lethargic period which lasts about three days, during which the subject remains completely insensible (5). Villavicencio, who tried out the natema on himself, which he called by the Quechua name of ayahuasca, said he had a feeling of dizziness, then the sensation of rising into the air, with dreams of beautiful countries, large cities, high towers, etc., and finally impressions of horrible fear in desperate struggles against ferocious beasts. The effect of the drink is terminated by a strong need of sleep and, on waking, by a heaviness and aching of the head, accompanied sometimes by a general sickness(6).

4. I Jívaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza, op. cit., page 4.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
6. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 373.

It is during the period of excitation that the iguanchi gives the Jíbaro his advice, his miraculous cures, if the motive of the consulation was a recovery of health, or confides to him the name of the individual responsible for the death by witchcraft of a member of the family. Upon awakening, the Indian descends the hill and communicates to his relatives or associates the answer of the Spirit, and depending on whether it is favorable or not, the proposed war or the proposed expedition is immediately decided or postponed until later (7). One can understand how these superstitions contribute to maintain the state of permanent hostility between tribes.

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7. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 112.

13: Rivet--250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 825

The study of all these religious manifestations shows us to what extent the Jíbaro is the slave of his beliefs. Like all simple beings, he also believes in omens. Dreams have for him a significance; if he dreams that he has been able to catch a wild hog, as soon as he gets up, he takes his lance, sets forth into the forest and does not return until he has killed one of these animals; if in his dreams he is bitten by a serpent, he does not leave his house on the following day for any reason.

13: Rivet--250 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

When the wind blows violently, the women and children leave the huts uttering loud shouts, trying to put the wind to flight in this manner, while the men also shout at the top of their voices, encircling the posts of the house so that the gale does not upset them (1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 64-65.

13: Rivet--250 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 821, 787

When a violent storm comes, the Jíbaros leave their dwellings with lances and shields, shouting. In the direction of the bright lightning and reverberating thunder, they threaten an invisible enemy whom they thus intend to frighten. In fact, they are sure that the tribes living in that direction are uniting in order to come and make war against them.

13: Rivet--250 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

Father Pancheri says that a Jíbaro who passed the night at Gualaquiza in his room went out into the corridor before lying down and began to blow hard and to murmur incomprehensible words. Interrogated, he answered that he thus kept away death and the iguanchi (1).

If one throws chicha into a river, big clouds will arise on the horizon (2).

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1. Pancheri, op. cit., El Republicano, Quito paper. No. 106, February 7, 1894.
2. Bulletin salesien, February 1902, page 50.

20: Dyott--176
116, 756, 787

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Mihanda and We-suma had already returned when we got back. We found them busily engaged cutting up the branches of a certain vine, known as natema (Banisteria caapi) which they had collected in the forest. They were scraping off the rind and placing the chopped-up stalks into a big earthen pot full of water.

It is customary for medicine-men and warriors alike to drink a concoction prepared from this plant prior to any warlike undertaking, or whenever the spirits have to be consulted on matters of importance. It produces strange hallucinations for those who drink it, and while under its influence they are supposed to be visited by the great spirits who advise them who their enemies are and if the time for attacking them is auspicious or otherwise.

The drink was simmering away in its last stages of preparation over the fire when Napi slipped in through the front door. He had already heard about the sudden death of Kun-gupi's brother, and deemed it wise not to linger in the district. There was yet another reason that made it doubly necessary for him to clear off early the next morning--he was a medicine man of considerable skill himself, and as such would certainly have been accused of practising witchcraft.

We watched him give an impromptu exhibition of his art as we sat around the pot of boiling natema."

20: Dyott--178-179 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 578, 787

"It was not till the afternoon was well advanced that we began to get the drift of a plot that was being hatched by these half-naked figures squatting around the fire. Johnston and myself regarded the scene with interest. Kuashu and his sons were talking at a terrific rate. Napi was no better; he was continually interjecting his views. It made little difference to him whether he was spoken to or not, he just went on talking. The position in a nutshell was this. One of Napi's travelling companions from the South, was a son of the man who had murdered Kuashu's brother. While we had sat lazily by the river after lunch, Mihanda and We-suma had been out spying on this fellow's movements, and they had learned that the day after to-morrow he was returning home by himself. The question to be decided by Kuashu and his family was--should they or should they not take this unusual opportunity of avenging the uncle's death? The only way to settle the issue was to drink natema or ayahuasca, as it is sometimes called, so that advice might be given by the spirits of Aru-tama (the old people).

After the natema had boiled for about an hour, the pot was taken off the fire, the liquid decanted into another jar and the residue thrown away. A certain amount of ritual attended the drinking of the brown fluid. The chief characters, Mihanda and We-suma, stood in front of the temporary shelf on which two bowls of the magic drink were placed. They held their spears in one hand and after a war chant, in which they evoked the good graces of the spirits, they swallowed off the contents at one gulp. The first

reaction of the narcotic was to produce violent nausea and [179] both men went outside to vomit up all they had drunk. Three times this was done and on each occasion Himbikti refilled the bowls to their brim. In an exhausted state the two brothers eventually staggered out of the house and went off to some shelter they had prepared in the forest, where during the long watches of the night, the spirits would appear to them in their dreams, advising them as to the best course to pursue.

Kuashu did not take part in the ceremony; both he and Napi drank copiously of nija-manchi instead. Bowl upon bowl of it was served until the pair were thoroughly intoxicated. Johnston and myself hardly knew what was the right thing for us to do under the circumstances. We could not participate in the festivities very well, so we sat on our camp beds and did nothing. My companion felt as if it was incumbent upon us to do something, even if only to talk and shout; but one makes fewer mistakes by keeping quiet. 'When in doubt do nothing,' is an important axiom when dealing with savage people. Many a man has lost his life through doing something he should have had sense enough to avoid. Safety lies in watching others closely and taking your cue from them. If you can't imitate them, then remain passive and you will be all right, but under no curcumstances is it wise to attempt civilized tactics or you may have cause to repent it!!

25: Vigna--39 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 787

The "Yhuanchi" is the principle that informs many manifestations of the domestic and social life of the Jîbaro. Through dreams, provoked by means of a potion of "Natem "Natem" (narcotic of vegetal nature which puts them to sleep for hours and entire days), the Yhuanchi makes known to the Jîbaros the cause of family illness and misfortune; it reveals the name of the supposed enemies, predicts the future, organizes the undertakings, and orders vengeance, etc. In order to put himself in communication with the Yhuanchi, the savage withdraws from the others, fasts strictly, and retires to the forest, oftentimes near a waterfall.

26: Brüning--69 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755, 787

The same brujo --his name was Kuja--had thought up a little stunt at our expense. Due to the rise of the Marañón we had to stay longer in Meléndez. Since our return was delayed, the brujo said that he had seen it in a vision that all the travellers, the Indian crew included, had died of small-pox. Since our crew came from Huaracayo, the inhabitants of this settlement were in mourning and had already started to prepare for a mortuary feast. Upon our return we found a great multitude of Indians to receive us. The brujo, whose calculations we had upset, was slightly embarrassed, kept himself aloof, faintly smiling from time to time.

28: Tessman--352-353 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 276, 787, 757

Karsten deals at great length with the kaapí beverage in his Beiträge, etc., p. 39. He makes the following statements: kaapí is used not only by the sorcerers, but men and women take it as a stimulant. For the latter usage the beverage is prepared in a slightly different manner. In connection with major feasts kaapí is used as a stimulant, but there is always this magic meaning underneath that the natives hope in their state of intoxication to establish contact with the evil demons (souls) and thereby be enabled to foresee the future. Kaapí drinking is said to have a generally salutary effect "as it prevents people from dying off like flies."

In addition to the kaapí the natives drink a beverage obtained from the Datura arborea (maikoa). Maikoa is also used as a liquid to be injected into the rectum. Karsten (Beiträge etc., pp. 48 ff.) calls the Datura beverage the special beverage for warriors. [353] Here again, the drink has magic implications, which lie in the same direction as the kaapí. The Datura drink is also used as a means of education.

28: Tessman--360 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 787

The Chiwaros are filled with all sorts of undigested superstitious beliefs. They have many religious particles, which they presumably receive from the high cultures of the Andes, but they have not been able to incorporate these scraps into the framework of their own religion. One such particle, for instance, is the belief that a chieftain is going to die when the sun goes down red.

They also believe that the Chiwaros formerly had been animals, the Aguarunas, for instance, crested orioles. See Karsten, La lengua de los Indios, p. 54. The same source also for folk-tales.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunui, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakani*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekás* wakani, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[3]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakani" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakani is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[4] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[5] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

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large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called ***kakarma***, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

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generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

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future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[10]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[11] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *wanti* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makawi*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*payi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *wanti* kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *wanti* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

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a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[18] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

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g English *g* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, ishialand when preceding *t*; palatized when following *t* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)
c Spanish *c*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *c* or *s* plus a nasal consonant)
x English *x* (but voiced like English *s* when adjacent to *d*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[1] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[2] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (SSRF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[3] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided immeasurable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[4] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutas*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[5] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[6] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *maikua* in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

[7] One exception is the fireball arutam which only wounders identify when it comes.

[8] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

[9] There is also a rare super arutam, *awasa*, whose soul is not so easily retained and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[10] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul or any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[11] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting, high tension conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The function basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

[12] *Muisak* may be alternatively pronounced *muisas*.

[13] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has engrossed (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *nekash* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

[14] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the tsantsa-complex. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

[15] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house location along with their gardens.

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available nenas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repair.

336 A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

[For additional information on the use of drugs for hallucinatory revelations, see 34a Shaman, category 276.]

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home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

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Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

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Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

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Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

[782]

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tavačï*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

[787]

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likes to come out at night and dance in the gardens, which, of course, are the only unobstructed clearings in the forest. She is most attracted to brand-new gardens with a minimum of growth and, in fact, such open spaces are so attractive that many Nuŋuí may come to dance simultaneously in such a clearing. However, normally there is only one Nuŋuí associated with a single garden and she dances alone between the manioc plants, in turn dancing as a partner with each pair of the opening shoots of manioc. As long as the garden is well weeded, she will probably stay at the site, remaining underground during the day. Her continued presence assures that she will be pushing up the crops, including all the domesticated plants. If, however, the woman responsible for the garden fails to weed it adequately, Nuŋuí will withdraw deep into the ground and remove herself to some other woman's better-weeded plot, "taking" the crop with her, and also causing the weeds suddenly to become even worse in the garden she has left. For this reason the Jívaro say they must weed the gardens carefully. Indeed, those with the best-weeded gardens do tend to have the best crop production, which is given as evidence of the validity of their belief.

With the breaking of day, Nuŋuí returns underground, going deeper as the day progresses. Since her supernatural force retreats with her, it is believed that the manioc tubers and sweet potatoes diminish in size gradually during the daytime. For this reason, the mistress of the garden prefers to dig up the tuberous crops early in the morning, while they still retain their maximum size. At the same time, going early in the morning to the garden may frighten Nuŋuí, so the woman sings a song of propitiation to reassure Nuŋuí and to keep her from submerging more deeply. Sometimes the woman simply thinks the song without opening her mouth,

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for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing.
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uyuí* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

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276 774 852 778 787 context of a four-day feast and dance, *ači aak* ("child swallowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe dietary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemi* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

276 774 778 787 [86] The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing, from the Jivaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to depend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp. 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jivaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence, as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

462 857 868 [854] [356] Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any, while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this head-band has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-
[582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

891 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given at puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length, the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[82] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
[27] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
• [781]

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centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) or *kasakii*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters are reputed to get along better with one another. A man normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ičti*) eventually will give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

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Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall.
It emerges where the mountains become stone.
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The normal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hallucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hopefully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child misbehaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.

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276 ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm
• 787 is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of
901 leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*)
756 and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

774 Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[8]

774 *Arutam wakani* is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient
776 specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

774 The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam*
778 soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison,
761 or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from
[753] contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. 774
A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls 778
cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious 761
disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [562]
arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of 778
six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he 823
makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighbor- 787 •
hood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' 776
travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with [824]
the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink [296]
tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco 296
water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they 787
return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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likely, though, is that before the five days are up, one of the members of the party will have recourse to drinking hallucinogenic *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) juice. Usually this is a person who has failed to see an *arutam* on a previous vision quest or who feels an urgent need to see one without delay.

Maikua, of which the Jivaro distinguish and use six different types, is recognized by them to be the most powerful and also the most dangerous hallucinogen with which they are familiar. In their pharmacopoeia, the hallucinogenic plants with which they are acquainted are ranked thusly in terms of their strength: (1) all six forms of *maikua*; (2) *nasemi*, mixed with *yabi* (see pp. 153–54), and *paripara*; (3) *tsentsemi*, *piripiri*, and *tipuru*. The last four remain to be botanically identified with certainty.

The psychotropic potency of *Datura* and certain other plants of the Solanaceae is well known to Western pharmacology, their hallucinogenic properties being due primarily to their high content of hyoscyamine, atropine, and scopolamine.[2] Preparations from these plants tend to produce, in large dosages, a state of excitation, delirium, and hallucinations, followed by a state of narcosis.[3]

The Jivaro obtain their hallucinatory experiences with *Datura* by ingesting the raw juice of the green bark of the stems. The effects begin to be felt within about three to four minutes of ingestion, probably because of the fast action of the atropine. The *arutam* seeker ingesting the *Datura* juice is never supposed to do it without the presence of an adult who is not taking the drug. It is the responsibility of the latter to provide psychological support or, in Jivaro terms, to "encourage" him, and also to hold him down, if necessary, during the first phase of the intoxication, when the drug taker tends to become delirious and is in danger of running off into the forest in his highly agitated state and, as a result,

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possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[4]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have

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23. Snake *tsentsak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under the influence of *natemä*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to the experience (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence of *natemä* as seen by another shaman who has also taken the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience. (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

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killed many times, so will you." Without another word the old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[5] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father. The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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Before the avenging spirit, or *tsunki*, kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *tsunki* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *wakani* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *wakani* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the *wakani*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *wakani* cannot see out," thereby

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753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply
"a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will
to help others to deal with the forces that influence and
even determine the events of the waking life.

755 Jivaro shamans (*arutin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
• 787 Jivaro name is *natema*, in order to enter the supernatural
[824] world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[756] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of
the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jivaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine,
yaji, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*,
to produce the cooked *natema* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, *d*-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine
(DMT) (see Plate 11).[19] These compounds have chemical
structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD,
mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natema* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the
latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function
visually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
955 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *natema* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natema*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natema* drink among the Jivaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jivaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natema*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuni, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also is even capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reported to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*nantar*) which are

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the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema*. When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects, the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy tribes.

To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as could be learned, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

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756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, sees the
776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
• 787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vuncrable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
778 darts, *enemak*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak*, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
[787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natemá*, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

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weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natema*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see *if* the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natema*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 13).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun,

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plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the laymen that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the influence of *natema*, and he sees them as a variety of zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natema*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 14).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natema* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

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nemesak, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *nemesak* headed towards their master. When these *nemesak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *nemesak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *paruk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakani* bird. The shaman drinks *nuishus* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *tsawai*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *nemesak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *nemesak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *nemesak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*paburi*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *nemesak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *nemesak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *nemesak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *nemesak* ready to repel any other magical

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darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but regularly, he must drink *natemā* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

While curing under the influence of *natemā*, the curing shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Generally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *panji* (see pp. 119–20).

Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemā*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

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626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if
[276] one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanis-
[787] tic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
[628] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
[721] and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jivaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 Although not believed by the Jivaro to be quite as pervasive
[682] an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
[278] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
602 Jivaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved
69 party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

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726 they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *tsuntsa* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This [829] is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on [226] fish much more than the Jivaro, and to the *tsuntsa* which are [251] to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are [727] brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

701 The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the ex-624 pedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role, 726 beyond the usual *untsi*. There may be two war chiefs if the [554] neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

[703] Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigor-[789] ous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

701 Since the war expedition is normally composed of men 703 from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound 602 to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to 628 be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close 726 relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jivaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
773 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail *alone* at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

• [787] [276] [824] [756] [755]

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jivaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the
823 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
177 from the frontier Jivaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
797 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jivaro, Tunguri, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jivaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jivaro

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4. One exception is the fetish *arutam*, which only vanishes silently when touched.

5. Persons who have seen *arutams* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone. One of the recognized reasons a father helps his son acquire an *arutam* soul is so that a public awareness of the son's supernatural power to avenge will provide protection for the father in case the latter loses his own *arutam* soul(s).

6. There is also a rare super-*arutam*, *entsakua*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

7. The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul or any permanent *nekas*, but only the soul of some ancestral Jívaro dwelling there temporarily.

8. Visitors to the Jívaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between men of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

9. Muisak may alternatively be pronounced *muisha*.

10. When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's *musiak* is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him. [766]

11. A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the beliefs surrounding the *tsantsa*. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material. [114]

12. Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

13. Cf. Der Marderwiese et al., 1968.

14. The mythological first shaman.

15. This is a halo of *tsentsak*, analogous to a feather "crown" sometimes worn by *kakaram*, which is seen as floating over the shaman's head (see Plate 14). [781]

16. The breezes are caused by his constant flying around.

17. Particularly on his shoulders.

18. The most powerful shamans (typically of the Canelos tribe) known to the Jívaro (see pp. 119-20).

CHAPTER V

1. Davidson (1966, p. 91) mentions a dispute over river fishing rights in the Río Yaupes neighborhood west of the Río Upano, but this is an area in which natural resource scarcity had already developed significantly as a consequence of immigration by white colonists from the province of Azuay. [179]